

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO:PSBRIDGES:HM  
APPROVED BY IO:CWMAYNES  
NEA:MDRAPER  
P:TMILLER (DRAFT)  
S/S:JTHYDEN

-----029398 101706Z /46

O 101639Z AUG 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 202292

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, MOPS, MILI, SY, LE, IS

SUBJECT: LEBANON: TUENI-MAYNES MEETING AUGUST 9

1. AFTER CALL ON VELIOTES (SEPTTEL), LEBANON UN PERMREP  
TUENI CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES (IO) LATE  
AUGUST 9. BRIDGES (IO/UNP) WAS ALSO PRESENT.

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2. TUENI SAW VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES OF OUTSIDERS PLAYING  
NEW ROLE IN LEBANESE CRISIS. ONE POSSIBILITY WAS A DIRECT  
ROLE FOR THE U.S.; WE SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE LEBANESE  
SITUATION COULD RENDER THE PEACE PROCESS MEANINGLESS. BUT  
IF THE U.S. FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO ACT, ONE COULD PERHAPS  
ENVISAGE A UN FACT-FINDING MISSION ON UNIFIL IMPLEMENTA-  
TION AND PERHAPS ON BEIRUT AS WELL, OR EVEN A VISIT TO THE

AREA BY WALDHEIM. BUT NO ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN WHICH MIGHT APPEAR ANTI-SYRIAN. A FACT-FINDING MISSION NEED NOT BE SEEN AS ANTI-ISRAELI, BUT AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN WHICH ISRAEL WOULD NOT BE IN A GOOD POSITION. WHEN TUENI SUGGESTED THE SYG MIGHT APPOINT A FACT-FINDING TEAM WITHOUT GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, MAYNES NOTED THAT UNTIL NOW THERE HAD BEEN ONLY TWO CASES WHERE THE SYG HAD TAKEN ACTION UNDER ARTICLE 99. TUENI SAID THAT ALTHOUGH WALDHEIM SO FAR HAD TAKEN A CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE, HE HAD COME OUT IN THE OPEN AND HAD

WRITTEN ASSAD. THERE WAS ALSO, TUENI ADDED, A SEMI-PRECEDENT IN THE SYG'S 1976 MESSAGE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON LEBANON.

3. TUENI DESCRIBED THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTHERN LEBANON AS ALMOST AMOUNTING TO DE FACTO PRESENCE OF AN ISRAELI-PROTECTED MINI-STATE. HE COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT HADDAD'S INTRACTABILITY WAS DUE ONLY TO HIS RELATIONSHIP TO SOME LOCAL ISRAELI COMMANDER. HIS SUSPICION WAS THAT ISRAEL WAS PLAYING A MAJOR STRATEGIC GAME AIMED AT PARTITION OF LEBANON, UNDER THE PRETEXT OF PROTECTING THE LEBANESE CHRISTIANS WHEN THE WEST HAD FAILED TO DO SO. HE HAD READ BEGIN'S LETTER TO WALDHEIM, WHICH STRESSED THE PROTECTION THEME, AS A POSSIBLE PREVIEW OF A SPEECH THAT THE ISRAELI PERMREP WOULD GIVE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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COUNCIL.

4. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM MAYNES, TUENI DESCRIBED SYRIAN OBJECTIVES IN LEBANON AS VARIABLE AND DYNAMIC, AND THEIR REACTIONS AS THOSE OF ONE WHO WOULD TAKE WHAT ONE COULD. THE LEBANESE COULD ACCEPT A SPECIAL SYRIAN ROLE IN LEBANON, BUT SYRIA MUST REALIZE THAT LEBANON COULD NOT FUNCTION AS A SYRIAN SATELLITE. TUENI ADDED THAT THE QUESTION OF WHETHER LEBANON BECAME A CONFRONTATION STATE DEPENDED ON WHETHER OTHERS LIKE THE U.S. HELPED LEBANON REGAIN ITS STRENGTH OR WHETHER IT REMAINED WEAK--IN THE LATTER CASE IT WOULD JOIN CONFRONTATION RANKS.

5. AS TO THE GOOD FENCE, TUENI SAID THAT THE LEBANESE POSITION WAS FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE 1948 ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. THE DAYAN LETTER WAS FULL OF TRAPS, BUT COULD BE A START AND THE GOL WAS EXAMINING IT.

6. TUENI WONDERED IF SOMETHING COULD BE DONE TO PUT MORE MUSCLE IN UNIFIL'S MANDATE; A LICENSE TO USE FORCE MIGHT HAVE SOME EFFECT. MYNES DOUBTED SUCH A CHANGE IN MANDATE WOULD BE FEASIBLE; VALUE OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES, IN ANY

EVENT, WAS TRIPWIRE EMBARRASSMENT OF THEIR PRESENCE.  
TUENI COMMENTED THAT THE PRESENT UNIFIL SITUATION WOULD  
BE DIFFICULT FOR WALDHEIM TO DESCRIBE IN POSITIVE TERMS  
IN HIS REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. HE CONCLUDED THAT  
THE LEBANESE ARMY HAD SHOWN THAT IT COULD HELP UNIFY THE  
COUNTRY; IT WAS THE LEBANESE ALTERNATIVE TO THE SYRIANS  
COMING IN GREATER FORCE; HE WAS ASTONISHED THAT THE  
ISRAELIS COULD NOT APPRECIATE THIS. VANCE

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Concepts:** MEETINGS  
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**Draft Date:** 10 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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